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Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----------047639 031156Z /14
O 031010Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1925

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 8735

NODIS

PASS WHITE HOUSE EYES ONLY FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP PL (CARTER, JIMMY)
SUBJ: PRESIDENT'S TRIP

REF: WARSAW 8668

1. DAS LUERS AND I CALLED ON SPASOWSKI DECEMBER 2 TO RESUME OUR DISCUSSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO WARSAW. SZEWCZYK AND HIS DEPUTY, MIECZKOWSKI, WERE ALSO PRESENT. SPASOWSKI AMPLIFIED HIS INITIAL REMARKS ABOUT WHAT THE POLISH SIDE HAS IN MIND FOR SUBSTANTIVE TALKS DURING THE VISIT. HE SAID WHAT HE WOULD PUT FORWARD IN THIS CONNECTION REFLECTED CONSULTATION HIGHER UP AND COULD BE TAKEN AS AUTHORITATIVE.

2. ON BILATERAL ISSUES, SPASOWSKI SAID THE FIRST SECRETARY WANTED TO DISCUSS THE GENERAL QUESTION OF FUTURE US-POLISH ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND, MORE SPECIFICALLY, INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION. HE SAID HE HAD THE IMPRESSION FROM SOME MEMBERS OF THE US DELEGATION TO THE CURRENT JOINT TRADE COMMISSION MEETING THAT THE US WAS STRONGLY FOR AN INDUSTRIAL-COOPERATION AGREEMENT. HE ASKED WHETHER I THOUGHT THIS WAS THE CASE.

3. I RECALLED THAT THE POLES HAD INITIATED THE IDEA OF SUCH AN
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AGREEMENT IN 1972, THAT, ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN, AND STILL WERE, INTERNAL DIFFERENCES IN THE USG ON THE SUBJECT, OUR ATTITUDE HAD GRADUALLY BECOME MORE AFFIRMATIVE, BUT THAT WHEN WE CONVEYED THIS TO THE POLISH SIDE, WE FOUND THEY, IN TURN, HAD BECOME RATHER NEGATIVE TO THE IDEA. NOW, I SAID, WE DID NOT CONSIDER A FORMAL AGREEMENT NECESSARY, SIMPLY FOR THE SAKE OF HAVING AN AGREEMENT.

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4. SPASOWSKI SAID GIEREK FELT THE SAME WAY ABOUT A FORMAL AGREEMENT. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS DID NOT MEAN THE POLES WERE UNINTERESTED IN INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY WISHED TO SEE A SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION OF COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS IN A VARIETY OF FIELDS. FIRST AMONG THESE WAS COAL. HE SUGGESTED THAT BOTH SIDES CONSIDER WAYS OF COOPERATING IN THIS AREA, WHERE THERE SHOULD BE SOME COMMON GROUND. PERHAPS THE US COULD COME UP WITH A PROPOSAL. DAS LUERS ASKED WHETHER SPASOWSKI WAS MAKING THIS SUGGESTION RELATIVE TO THE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT OR ON A LONGER-TERM BASIS. SPASOWSKI SAID BOTH.

5. I SAID WE COULD CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF US PROPOSALS ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. HOWEVER, AS I HAD SAID BEFORE, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE US AND POLISH ECONOMIC SYSTEMS MEANT THAT US PRIVATE FIRMS, NOT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, WOULD MAKE THE KEY DECISIONS IN THIS AREA. I HOPED THAT ONE OR MORE OF THE US FIRMS MIGHT BE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WITH APPROPRIATE POLISH INSTITUTES BEFORE THE PRESIDENT CAME TO WARSAW, BUT SAID WE DID NOT KNOW WHERE ANY OF THE INITIATIVES IN THIS DIRECTION NOW STOOD. WITHOUT AFFIRMATIVE INFORMATION ON ONE OR MORE OF THESE INITIATIVES, I SAID IT WAS A QUESTION WHETHER, DURING HIS VISIT, THE PRESIDENT COULD HONESTLY EXPRESS HOPE FOR AN AGREEMENT IN THIS FIELD.

6. SZEWCZYK NOTED THAT THERE ARE SOME USG COAL-RESEARCH CENTERS
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AND WONDERED WHETHER THERE MIGHT BE THE POSSIBILITY OF WORKING OUT COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THEM AND THE APPROPRIATE POLISH COUNTERPARTS. I SAID THIS QUESTION HAD ALREADY BEEN EXPLORED PRETTY THOROUGHLY, WITH LIMITED RESULTS. IN ANY EVENT, THE PROBLEM OF FUNDING SUCH ACTIVITY WOULD BE DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF THE PROSPECTIVE END OF THE AVAILABILITY OF PL-480 ZLOTYS TO BE SPENT IN POLAND. SPASOWSKI SAID THAT, REGARDLESS OF THE CONSIDERATIONS THAT HAD BEEN RAISED, IN THE BILATERAL TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT GIEREK WOULD BRING UP THE QUESTION OF COAL COOPERATION, WHICH WAS A SUBJECT OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO HIM.

7. ANOTHER BILATERAL QUESTION SURE TO BE RAISED, SPASOWSKI WENT ON, WAS THAT OF FISHING. THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT INDUSTRY IN POLAND AND USG QUOTAS WERE CREATING SOME SOCIAL PROBLEMS, BESIDES LOSSES IN FOOD SUPPLY AND INCOME. DAS LUERS SAID THAT, IF THE POLISH SIDE CONSIDERED THE QUESTION THAT IMPORTANT, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE GIEREK COMMUNICATE THE POINT TO THE PRESIDENT. HE ASKED WHETHER THE FIRST SECRETARY PLANNED ONLY TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF THE POLISH QUOTAS IN US WATERS. SPASOWSKI SAID THIS WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING.

8. SPASOWSKI SAID ANOTHER BILATERAL TOPIC FOR THE TALKS WOULD BE

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"AIR CONNECTIONS BETWEEN POLAND AND THE U.S." I ASKED WHETHER HE MEANT CHICAGO LANDING RIGHTS FOR LOT. HE REPLIED THAT THE QUESTION INVOLVED MORE THAN CHICAGO. THE FIRST SECRETARY WOULD SAY POLAND ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO DIRECT POLISH-AMERICAN AIR LINKS WHICH WOULD FACILITATE THE EXCHANGE OF PEOPLES AND TOURISM. WE NOTED THAT THE POSSIBILITY HAD BEEN MENTIONED OF TALKS THIS MONTH BETWEEN THE CHIEF CIVIL-AVIATION NEGOTIATORS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES AND AGREED IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF SUCH TALKS COULD TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED WHITE HOUSE.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 8735

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PASS WHITE HOUSE EYES ONLY FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

9. SPASOWSKI SAID THE POLISH SIDE WOULD ALSO WANT TO TAKE UP US-POLISH SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION. THEY VALUED VERY HIGHLY WHAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN THIS FIELD UP TO NOW AND WANTED THE PROCESS TO CONTINUE. THE US-POLISH SCIENTIFIC-COOPERATION PROGRAM WAS THE BIGGEST THEY HAD. DAS LUERS REMARKED THAT, ON A PER CAPITA BASIS, IT WAS THE BIGGEST FOR THE US ALSO. SPASOWSKI SAID THE POLES WANTED TO AVOID THE DIFFICULTIES THAT WOULD ARISE IF FUNDING FOR THE PROGRAM WERE TO DRY UP. LUERS ASKED WHETHER THE POLISH SIDE HAD ANY IDEAS WHERE THE MONEY TO CONTINUE THE PROGRAM MIGHT COME FROM. SPASOWSKI SAID THE POLES WERE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO PAY MATCHING SHARES IN ZLOTYS. I SAID THE DIFFICULTY WAS THE PROSPECTIVE END OF THE AVAILABILITY OF PL-480 ZLOTYS AFTER 1981. CONGRESS WAS NOT LIKELY TO APPROPRIATE DOLLARS TO BE EXPORTED TO POLAND AND CONVERTED TO ZLOTYS TO FINANCE RESEARCH IN POLAND. HOWEVER, I SAID, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO DISCUSS SCIENTIFIC COOPER-ATION.

10. THE LAST MATTER THE POLES WOULD BRING UP ON THEIR INITIATIVE,

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SPASOWSKI SAID, WAS ACCESS TO US MARKETS. HE SAID THIS WAS OBVIOUSLY A KEY TO IMPROVEMENT OF OUR TRADE RELATIONS. I ASKED WHETHER GIEREK WOULD MENTION GOLF CARTS. SPASOWSKI SAID HE WOULD DO HIS BEST TO SEE THAT HE DIDN'T.

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11. SPASOWSKI THEN BROUGHT UP THE DIVIDED-FAMILIES QUESTION. THE POLES, HE SAID, UNDERSTOOD THE IMPORTANCE THE US ATTACHED TO THIS MATTER. NEVERTHELESS, THEY WONDERED WHETHER DISCUSSION DURING THE VISIT COULD NOT BE KEPT AT THE LEVEL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS. I SAID I WAS NOT AT ALL SURE IT COULD, IN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL INTEREST. DAS LUERS SUGGESTED THIS WOULD DEPEND ON WHAT PROGRESS COULD BE ACHIEVED ON THE ISSUE BEFORE THE VISIT. SPASOWSKI RECALLED THAT THE TEN LONGSTANDING CASES I HAD LISTED FOR WOJTASZEK HAD NOT BEEN RESOLVED POSITIVELY. I REPEATED OUR APPRECIATION FOR THIS AND SAID I WOULD SEND HIM A NEW, SOMEWHAT LONGER, LIST OF CASES FALLING WITHIN THE POLISH DEFINITION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES ON MONDAY, IN THE HOPE THESE, TOO, COULD BE RESOLVED AS QUICKLY AND AFFIRMATIVELY.

12. DAS LUERS OBSERVED THAT MUCH OF THE BILATERAL AGENDA WOULD EMERGE IN THE LIGHT OF THIS WEEK'S TALKS HELD BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE KREPS. IN FACT, THE QUESTIONS OF CREDIT ARRANGEMENTS AND GRAIN PURCHASES WOULD PRESUMABLY BE AT THE TOP OF THE AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT'S TALKS WITH THE FIRST SECRETARY. SPASOWSKI EMPHATICALLY AGREED. OUR APPROACH TO THESE MATTERS WOULD DERIVE FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION HOW THE US, WITHIN ITS OWN LAWS, COULD TAKE POSITIONS SUPPORTIVE OF THE POLISH ECONOMY. THESE QUESTIONS, LUERS POINTED OUT, WERE OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE. LONGER-RANGE PROBLEMS, SUCH AS COAL COOPERATION AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES, WERE SECONDARY.

13. TURNING TO INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, SPASOWSKI SAID THAT, ON THE POLISH SIDE, THESE WOULD FALL UNDER THREE HEADINGS: (A) POLAND'S PLACE IN EUROPE "AS WE SEE IT HISTORICALLY, AT PRESENT, AND IN THE FUTURE"; (B) THE POLISH INTEREST IN POLITICAL AND MILITARY DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT, AND (C) CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM RECENT TOP-LEVEL POLISH MEETINGS WITH EUROPEAN LEADERS AND WITH THE POPE. I RECALLED THAT DAS LUERS, IN OUR MEETING EARLIER THIS

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WEEK, HAD MENTIONED SALT, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND NON-PROLIFERATION AS TOPICS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO THE US SIDE. LUERS SAID WE HAD NOT YET RECEIVED A RESPONSE TO OUR REPORT OF THAT MEETING. UPON HIS RETURN TO WASHINGTON, HE WOULD TAKE UP THE MORE DETAILED

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AGENDA THE POLES HAD NOW PROVIDED AND, WITH HIS COLLEAGUES, WORK OUT A RESPONSE WHICH I WOULD BE ASKED TO RELAY TO THE POLES. WE BOTH EXPRESSED OUR APPRECIATION FOR THE INFORMATION AND EXPLANATIONS SPASOWSKI HAD PROVIDED REGARDING THE AGENDA.

14. IN THE COURSE OF OUR DISCUSSION, SPASOWSKI AGAIN RAISED THE QUESTION OF A FINAL DOCUMENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. DAS LUERS SAID WE HAD NOT BEEN ADVISED AS TO WHAT WASHINGTON ENVISAGED IN THIS REGARD. HE UNDERSTOOD, HOWEVER, THAT IT WAS INTENDED THERE SHOULD BE A PATTERN FOR SUCH DOCUMENTS APPLICABLE OVER THE WHOLE TRIP. SPASOWSKI SAID THE POLISH SIDE THINKS THERE SHOULD BE A COMMUNIQUE THAT INCLUDES MATTERS OF SUBSTANCE ("NOT A DECLARATION OR A JOINT STATEMENT, BUT A COMMUNIQUE.") SPASOWSKI ALSO STATED HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE US SIDE WOULD PROVIDE INFORMATION ON WHAT MIGHT BE DESIRED WITH REGARD TO SEPARATE SCHEDULES FOR SECRETARY VANCE AND DR. BRZEZINSKI. LUERS SAID THIS WAS THE CASE, BUT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE SOME TIME BEFORE THIS INFORMATION BECAME AVAILABLE.
DAVIES

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